

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00  
SAJ-01 DODE-00 DLOS-06 ERDA-05 H-01 IO-13 OIC-02  
OMB-01 NSC-05 EA-07 NEA-10 AF-08 OES-06 SAL-01 /125 W  
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R 131545Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1104

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0164

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO PFOR  
SUBJ: CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES: THE NEXT SIX MONTHS

REF: (A) 76 USNATO 6625, (B) 76 STATE 209295 (C) 76 STATE  
304594

SUMMARY: ALLIES ARE LOOKING TO THE US TO SUGGEST PRINCIPAL THEMES AND PROVIDE IMPETUS TO FUTURE CONSULTATIONS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC). THEY ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S VIEW ON THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND ALLIED DEFENSE AND THEY DOUBTLESS HOPE TO INFLUENCE THESE VIEWS BEFORE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION ADOPTS POSITIONS AND TAKES DECISIONS ON MAJOR ISSUES. TO MEET THESE ALLIED INTERESTS, WE OUTLINE BELOW A POSSIBLE SCHEDULE FOR MAJOR NAC CONSULTATIONS THIS SPRING ON SALT, EAST-WEST RELATIONS, AND CSCE, AND NOTE ADDITIONAL TOPICS THAT MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN NATO LATER THIS YEAR. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

1. SALT. THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S AND SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE'S COMMENTS AND THE PROSPECTS OF A PRESIDENTIAL MEETING WITH BREZHNEV HAVE REINFORCED ATTENTION TO SALT, A DOMINANT SECRET

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ALLIED CONCERN, AND THE ALLIES WILL WANT TO BE TOLD SOON OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S PLANS. ACCORDINGLY, WE URGE THAT THE US TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO BRIEF THE ALLIES ON SALT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, PERHAPS IN FEBRUARY OR MARCH.

2. GENERAL EAST-WEST RELATIONS. BEYOND THE SPECIFIC AND HIGHLY FOCUSED INTEREST IN SALT, THE ALLIES ALSO WILL BE KEENLY INTERESTED IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S GENERAL PHILOSOPHY AND CON-

CEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE BROAD RANGE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO DEVELOP SPECIFICS OF US POLICIES BEFORE CONSULTING ON THIS MATTER WITH THE ALLIES; RATHER, THE ALLIES WOULD WELCOME, AND PERHAPS IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO PROVIDE, INITIAL VIEWS TO STIMULATE SUBSEQUENT ANALYSIS AND CONSULTATIONS. A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE, WE BELIEVE, SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE THE ALLIES TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT THE DYNAMICS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS ACROSS THEIR SPECTRUM (AS WE SUGGESTED IN PART VI REFTEL), AND TO ELICIT THEIR VIEWS AS AN AID TO US POLICY FORMULATION. A TENTATIVE TARGET DATE FOR A NAC CONSULTATION WITH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS MIGHT BE SOMETIME IN MARCH.

3. CSCE. THE UK HAS PROPOSED IN POLADS A NAC MEETING WITH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS ON CSCE IN LATE APRIL TO WHICH DEPARTMENT HAS CONCURRED IN PRINCIPLE (REF C) WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF FRANCE, WE ANTICIPATE BROAD SUPPORT FOR SUCH A MEETING WHICH, IN PREPARING FOR BELGRADE, WILL PROVIDE A LOGICAL INTERMEDIATE STEP BETWEEN THE EXPERT DISCUSSIONS ON CSCE AT NATO SCHEDULED EARLY THIS SPRING AND CONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE BY MINISTERS AT THE LONDON MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MAY.

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4. AS SUPPLEMENTS TO THE FOREGOING, WE WOULD ADD THE FOLLOWING POSSIBLE TOPICS FOR CONSULTATIONS LATER THIS YEAR:

(A) THE MIDDLE EAST. WHILE THERE IS STRONG ALLIED INTEREST IN POSSIBLE NEW US INITIATIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THEY RECOGNIZE ALSO THE NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY IN US DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES. NEVERTHELESS, WE HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE THE ALLIES AT NATO WITH AN EARLY INDICATION OF GENERAL US THINKING, PERHAPS THROUGH REPORTS BY THE US PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OR, IF APPROPRIATE, IN A NAC CONSULTATION INVOLVING EXPERTS. FOLLOWING ANY VISITS BY SENIOR OFFICIALS TO THE AREA, AS IN THE PAST, IT WILL BE MOST USEFUL TO BRIEF THE ALLIES ON DEVELOPMENTS.

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(B) AFRICA. SECRETARY KISSINGER AND FOREIGN  
SECRETARY CROSLAND BROUGHT THE ALLIES UP TO DATE  
ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AT THE DECEMBER  
MINISTERIAL. IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE BRITISH TO  
PROVIDE FURTHER REPORTS, AS WE EXPECT THEY WILL, ON  
IVOR RICHARD'S EFFORTS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, WE WOULD ANTICIPATE THAT A  
BROADER CONSULTATION ON AFRICA WELL MIGHT WAIT UN-  
TIL AUTUMN, OR UNTIL A SETTLEMENT SEEMS CLOSER THAN  
AT PRESENT.

(C) EAST ASIA. IN LIGHT OF ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY HUMMEL'S PARTICIPATION IN A NOVEMBER NAC  
MEETING THAT FOCUSED ON CHINA AFTER MAO, WE SEE NO  
NEED FOR ANOTHER NAC MEETING DEVOTED TO THIS AREA IN  
THE NEAR FUTURE.

(D) LAW OF THE SEA. THE ALLIANCE BENEFITED,  
WE BELIEVE, FROM NAC CONSULTATIONS WITH EXPERTS ON  
SECURITY ASPECTS OF LOS DEVELOPMENTS IN 1974, 1975,  
AND 1976. IN VIEW OF THE RECENT ASSERTION OF 200-  
MILE JURISDICTION BY THE US AND ATLANTIC ALLIES, WE  
BELIEVE IT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO EXAMINE RECENT  
DEVELOPMENTS AND POTENTIAL EAST-WEST CONFLICTS IN  
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THE LOS AREA AGAIN THIS YEAR. ON TIMING, WE DEFER  
TO OUR EXPERTS.

(E) ARMS CONTROL. WHILE CONSULTATIONS ON  
SALT, MBFR, AND DISARMAMENT EXPERTS' WORK WILL KEEP  
THE ALLIES INFORMED OF US VIEWS IN THIS AREA, WE BE-  
LIEVE IT MAY BE USEFUL ALSO TO ATTEMPT AT THE COUNCIL  
LEVEL WITH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS TO REVIEW THE OVER-  
ALL DYNAMICS OF ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS IN THE CONTEXT  
OF OUR BROADER POLICIES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. SUCH  
A CONSULTATION HAS NOT BEEN ATTEMPTED BEFORE, BUT WE  
BELIEVE IT COULD BE STRUCTURED TO PROVIDE A CAREFUL  
EXAMINATION OF PROSPECTS IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD  
AND OF POSSIBLE WESTERN INITIATIVES TO BALANCE RECURRING  
SOVIET INITIATIVES. AS REPORTED SEPTELS, THE DANES  
HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ARMS CONTROL

INITIATIVES THAT MIGHT GIVE NATO A MORE  
POSITIVE IMAGE, AND WE EXPECT A PRIVATE MEETING OF  
THE COUNCIL WILL BE SCHEDULED ON THIS TOPIC.

(F) MBFR. THE ALLIES CONTINUE TO BE KEENLY  
INTERESTED IN MBFR. THE CONTINUING AND CLOSE NAC  
CONSULTATION ON MBFR SATISFIED NORMAL CONSULTATION  
REQUIREMENTS ON THIS ISSUE. MBFR WOULD BE AN  
IMPORTANT ASPECT OF A REINFORCED NAC MEETING ON  
EAST-WEST RELATIONS AS SUGGESTED IN PARA 2 ABOVE.  
WASHINGTON MAY ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER A REINFORCED  
NAC MEETING LATER THIS YEAR SPECIFICALLY ON MBFR, IN  
ORDER TO REVIEW THE BROAD IMPLICATIONS OF THE  
NEGOTIATION AND GENERAL ALLIED POLITICAL CONCERNs.  
ANY SPECIFIC US PROPOSALS TO THE ALLIES FOR FURTHER  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED POSITION MIGHT BEST BE  
HANDLED THROUGH THE REGULAR NAC CONSULTATIVE  
MECHANISM, AS WAS THE NUCLEAR OFFER, IN ORDER NOT  
TO PUBLICIZE INTERNAL ALLIED CONSIDERATION OF SUCH  
PROPOSALS.

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5. IN DISCUSSING CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR COLLEAGUES  
HERE--WHEN THE TIMING IS RIPE AND WHEN GUIDANCE IS  
RECEIVED--WE WILL BEAR IN MIND OUR STANDING INSTRUc-  
TIONS (REF B) ON THE DESIRABILITY OF STIMULATING THE  
ALLIES TO PUT FORWARD THEIR OWN SUGGESTIONS FOR  
CONSULTATIONS, AND AVOIDING UNNECESSARY CONTENTION  
WITH THE FRENCH. WE BELIEVE THE TACTICS OF PRESENT-

ING EACH PROPOSAL TO THE ALLIES SHOULD BE CAREFULLY  
WORKED OUT IN EACH CASE. STRAUSZ-HUPE

SECRET

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